1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort Tungi emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word.

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designation for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word *pule* (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this.

The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining whether a man or his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt), and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her brothers and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*) who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal.

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

An example of what was probably an ancient lineage is represented by the place name Haaloau (Haa Loau). The Loau referred to was a prominent chief of the district of Haamea, Tongatabu, who is reported to have held land also on Lifuka Island where a district and a cemetery are called Haaloau. In the cemetery were buried people of high rank, related to Tui Haa Teiho. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho said that Loau was the Tui Haa Loau, or lord of the people of the lineage of Loau. Loau's daughter Nua became the mother of Tuitatui, the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. Likewise, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Uluakimata I, was reputed a descendant of the famous Loau. However, all the Tui Tonga after Tuitatui must have had Loau's blood in their veins, if tradition is correct; hence the special mention of Uluakimata I is not clear. It is possible a second and much later Loau is referred to.

The western portion (Kolomotua) of the modern capital Nukualofa is comprised of several tracts (*api*) which bear *haa* names. They are Haafakaafe, Haahio, Haaloto, Haamea, Haasimi, Haatelie, Haavaka, and Haavakaotua. The Prince Consort Tungi and his late father Tukuaho belonged to—that is, they resided in— Haavakaotua. Actually, of course, these two chiefs are members of the lineage Haa Takalaua. Yet it is modern Tongan practice to think of co-residence as constituting people into a social group. In fact several informants gave place names for family names.

My informants also spoke of certain modern villages as comprising certain named families, meaning actually that the villages comprised people from certain localities, brought together by the new system of village residence. It is likely that the people in each ancient locality did constitute a single family. But when the informants give the place name as the family name, the European type of family name must not be understood. It is not a surname and it changes with change of residence. For example, the mayor of Moungaone, Haapai, said that there were four families in his island: Haalolovi, Haanukuola, Haavaitongo, Haatolu. The mayor belonged to Haalolovi, the ancestor (*tefito*) of which was a man named Kavauhi who lived on a tract of that name. It happens that I have no record of these four *haa* names as place names, so it is possibly they represent a survival of the ancient small lineages which I have postulated.

Place names beginning with the stem *haa* form 7 per cent of the total number of place names in Tongatabu, 4 per cent of the total number in Haapai, 3 per cent in Vavau, 3 per cent in Niuafoou, and 3 per cent in Niuatoputapu.

Of the total number of place names beginning with the stem *haa*, those peculiar to each island group are recorded in Table 4, which shows that Vavau has much the smallest percentage. If these names really stand for

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

the household head and twelve types of matrilineal relationship of household members to the wife of the household head. Out of the total of 268 persons covered by the household census, 32 are living matrilocally. Hence household grouping of relatives is predominantly patrilocal and patrilineal. Patrilocal residence is the rule for marriage. This is emphasised by the fact that in only five of the marriages recorded is there matrilocal residence. The biological family of mother, father, and children composes fourteen of the forty-four households. It is also the basis for a further fourteen households. Daughter's children and father's sister's children are the most common kin among the additional members of all the households.

In Pangai village there are forty-four households. This gives an average household membership of 6.1 persons. Omitting three anomalous households which consist of one person each, the average for forty-one households with a total membership of 265 is 6.5 persons per household. That this figure corresponds to a fairly typical Polynesian norm is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP[17]

Place	Pukapuka	Hawaii	Futuna	Uvea	Tonga
Average Membership	6.5	6.9	8.0	8.77	6.5

These figures suggest that the Polynesian household ranges between six and eight persons. For comparison it may be noted that the average size of the American urban family is about 3.43 persons. The Polynesian household, therefore, is much larger than the white family and manages to hold its size despite years of contact with the ways of the white man. The size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour in contradistinction to the tenacity with which he holds on to native patterns of household-organization and the social values which are implied by this type of large household-grouping.

[17] These comparative figures are from Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull.* 19, 1939, 49.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR IN A CONTEMPORARY TONGAN VILLAGE

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I should like to thank Professor Toichi Mabuchi for suggestions and Professor William Newell for criticism of the manuscript. I also wish to thank the villagers who so kindly assisted me in my work.

Preface

This is a descriptive study on the kinship organisation and behaviour of Tongan commoners in a contemporary Tongan village. It will discuss the following questions. 1. Within what kind of kinship network do people live in a rural area of Tonga today? 2. How do they behave in such a network?

Kinship in Tonga has been variously described in the literature. According to G. P. Murdock[1] the Tongans are classified as an extended family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matrilocal residence as a patterned alternative; limited polygymy; absence of any unilinear kin groups; bilateral kindred; cross cousin marriage is disapproved symmetrically but not specifically forbidden. In these characteristics we do not find any particular kin group except kindred. But, on the other hand, R. Firth,[2] and others,[3] discuss the *ha'a* which is called an optataive descent group or sept or ramage.[4] According to their definition the *ha'a* is not of a kindred type but resembles a lineage in several ways. Are there, then, two types of kin group in Tonga? If there are two, how do they work together? Through the intensive study of a small village, I will try to clarify the above point.

I stayed in the Kingdom of Tonga from July 1962 to February 1963, and the field work for this paper was done in Nukuleka village from November 1962 to January 1963. Nukuleka is located in the eastern part

1. Murdock 1957: 681.
2. Firth 1957: 6.
3. Davenport 1959: 562.
4. Sahlins 1958: 139-159.

45. Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

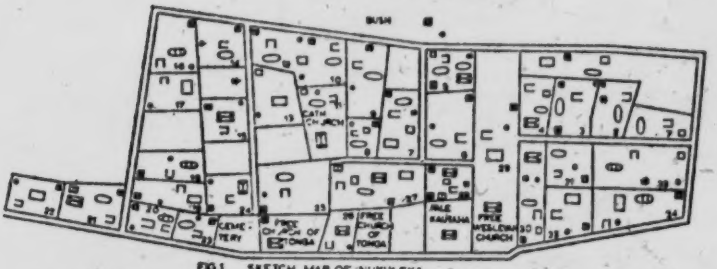

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FIG.1 SKETCH MAP OF NUKULEKA

1-34 HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS
H.38 LIVES IN THE BUSH NEAR THE VILLAGE

FALEHOME
EUROPEAN STYLE HOUSE
TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
SEMI-TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
FIJIAN STYLE HOUSE
FALEKAI OR FALEKAU

FALE KAUKAU
MADE OF WOOD OR CEMENT
MADE OF COCONUT LEAVES
FALEMALOLO
OTHER BUILDINGS
COCONUT OVEN
RETAIL STORE
WELL WATER

As is shown in the table, the two generation household is the dominant style. Out of 33 households, 28 consist of one married couple, 4, two married couples and one has no married pair. This last household consists of the town officer with one of his sons. His wife and small children live at Mu'aa where he received another *api tukuhau* recently. He intends to go back to Mu'a to join his family after retiring. Three out of the four households with two couples living together consist of couples of parents and children and the other a pair of married brothers. 592

From the fact that the large majority of the households include two generations and one married couple, it can be inferred that the household is formed primarily on the basis of the nuclear family. In fact, 21 households respectively are nuclear families and the rest include additional members. The households may be classified roughly into four groups on the basis of the sort of kin that they contain: 592 594

A. 21 households that contain only a nuclear family
   a man, his wife and children (including adopted ones) 19
   a man and his wife 1
   a man and his son 1

B. 8 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional kinsfolk of male side 592 594
   A plus husband's mother 2 596
   A plus husband's father and sister 1
   A plus husband's brothers 1
   A plus husband's brother and his wife with children 1
   A plus son and his wife with children 2
   A plus a boy who is remotely related to husband 1

C. 3 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional kinsfolk of female side
   A plus daughter and her husband with children 1
   A plus daughter who is divorced and her daughter 1
   A plus wife's mother and a boy who is remotely related to wife 1

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

D. 1 household that contains A plus wife's children who were born in her previous marriage and husband's father's second wife with her son.

There are only four adopted children. In one case a chid was adopted because the foster parents who had an only child wanted more. In another case a girl was adopted by her mother's sister because her own children have already grown up. Two other little children whose parents had been divorced were taken over by their grandparents.

Fission of the Household

Since most of the households are based on a nuclear family, the development of a household seems to be a kind of cycle. After children grow up, they depart from their parents' household to form their own. Table 2 shows the correlation between the mother's age and the number of children living with their parents. Adopted children are included in number.

TABLE 2 — MOTHER'S AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING WITH THEIR PARENTS

Mother's Age	No. of Children										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16 - 20		1	1								
21 - 25	2	1	3	2							
26 - 30		2	1	1	1	2					
31 - 35					1		1	1			
36 - 40	1	1		1			1	2	1		1
41 - 45			2			1					
46 - 50			1								
51 - 55			1								
56 - 60		1		1							

When the wife's age is about from thirty six to forty years old, the number of children reaches the maximum. Then the fact that grown-up sons and daughters start separating from their home, reduces the size of the nuclear family in question. We shall examine here six examples in which we see some of the actual processes in forming new households.

14 The first son of No. 5 (thirty years old in 1962):

In 1946 he received from the Government *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres and *api kolo* both of which had been vacant. He built a house by himself in this *api kolo* and has lived there since 1950. He parted from his parents before his marriage.

10 The third son of No. 5 (twenty seven years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he worked on the land of his father's mother's sister's son (22). He asked the Government to allot him the *api tukuhau* of his mother's deceased brother. In 1957 his first son was born, and in the next year he built a house in a vacant *api kolo* which has not yet been recognised as his own.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 reflects a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure in which the group is logically prior to the individual member. Second, such an approach presupposes a uniformity of group structure that is not found in the Tongan data. Instead of this approach, I propose to follow Goody's advice: "In looking at any concrete situation, one must start with the terminology and classificatory system of the actors themselves, how they describe their kin, their houses, their domestic groupings" (1972: 4).

592 659 114 596 The Tongan national census distinguishes among Tongan households on the basis of the number of 'family units' in the household:

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders and visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. In addition to these, widowed or divorced persons living with their offspring in another's house constitute a family unit. Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit, and aged parents of either the head or his wife, who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit (Fiefia 1968: 32).

According to this definition, households are made up of 'family units', and these consist of 'family groups' plus attached individuals (the servants, boarders, and visitors

592 referred to in the definition who remain after family
659 groups have been separated out). There are some
114 difficulties with the census definition, however. First,
596 the term 'family unit' has no Tongan equivalent and is not a culturally meaningful category. On the other hand, 'family group' is a category in everyday use in Tonga; the term in Tongan is 'fāmili'. But the word "fāmili" has a number of meanings besides the census report's sense of
[612] an elementary or nuclear-family grouping. Another meaning of "fāmili" is the localized kin group consisting of a number of households linked by consanguineal ties, which is discussed in the next chapter. A third meaning is the co-residential kin group on which the household is based, irrespective of the number of family groups that it comprises. Not all members of a household are necessarily members of this third kind of fāmili; some family groups or attached individuals living in the household might be spoken of as "living in/on our 'api but not a member of our fāmili".

Another objection to the definition of 'family unit' given in the national census is that its use of the term 'family group' is not consistent. According to the census definition, a family group is a two-generation elementary or nuclear family (whether or not both parents are present), or one generation if the couple has no children.

592 659 114 596 But this criterion for enumerating family units is set aside at the end of the definition, where it says that "aged parents . . . who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit".[2] According to this provision, a household consisting only of a man and a woman and their unmarried children, and another household consisting of this same family group plus the man's aged and dependent parents and the woman's aged and dependent parents and both the man's and the woman's unmarried siblings (i.e., a total of three family groups), would both be counted as single-family-unit households. A possible explanation for this feature of the census definition is that aged parents of the head of the household who live in the household but who are not reckoned to be head of the household would be spoken of as belonging to the head's fāmili. However, the sense of "fāmili" that is used here is not the sense that is [128] captured by the term 'family group'. In what follows, therefore, aged parents of the head of the household are treated analytically as a separate family group if they fit the other elements of the definition.

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2 Ordinarily, people of the most senior generation in the household are the head of the household. A couple or individual of the most senior generation is/are not the head only if they are too physically infirm, materially dependent, or joined the household too recently to have the authority within the household that goes with being household head.

As the preceding objection would suggest, the notion of 'family unit' used in the census does not provide an adequate basis for discriminating among the variety of Tongan households. Not surprisingly, 84 percent of all households in Tonga enumerated in the census of 1966 were single-family-unit households, and only 3 percent had more than two family units.[3] The fact is that there is considerable diversity in the composition of Tongan households that is masked by the census categories, and some problem regarding the proper basis of differentiation.

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3 There is a further reservation to be noted with regard to the census enumeration of households. The national census figures for 1966 show that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 150 households (79 percent). This proportion is fairly consistent with the national figure: 84 percent of all Tongan households were single-family-unit households. However, using the census's definition of 'family unit', my census of Motulahi in 1970 showed only 97 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (67 percent). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970--and there is no evidence to support this assumption--we must conclude that my data are not comparable with the corresponding data in the national census. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy between the two sets of data is that in 1966 some people may have represented their family groups as comprising independent households when in fact they were dependent members of another household. One reason for this might be that they regarded their not being independent as merely a temporary condition and therefore not a truly accurate representation of their household situation. (Such circumstances are not uncommon, as materials presented later in the chapter will show.) Another possible explanation might be that they were loath to admit to being a dependent family unit, owing to status considerations explained later in the chapter.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 As we shall see later in the chapter, there is no consensus on the composition of the ideal household; instead, what is viewed as desirable varies according to [121] the speaker's social situation. Statistical description of household types, which has been productive for the analysis of household structure in other societies (Fortes 1949, Leach 1961, Barnes 1971) also proved unilluminating in revealing patterns of household composition in Motulahi. The difficulty in trying to make statistical sense of the data is not that clear types did not emerge, but that there seemed to be too many types.

[594] Most Tongans would probably say that normally or ordinarily a household consists of a single family group --that is, a married couple and one or more of their unmarried children. The majority of households do not 592 conform to this pattern, however. Among the 145 households 621 in Motulahi enumerated by me in 1970, only 52 (36 percent) 596 consisted of just a single family group of one or both [594] parents and their unmarried children. Among the others there were households with from one to seven family groups, as well as non-kin households (see Table 11). Cutting across these variations, almost half the households in the village had one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who are not part of one of the family groups in the household).

TABLE 11

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970

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Number of family groups in the household	Attached individuals		Total households of this type	Average number of persons per household
	None	Present		
One family group in the household	52	41	93	6.6
Two family groups in the household	18	14	32	10.9
Three family groups in the household	3	12	15	12.9
More than three family groups in the household	1	1	2	20.0
Non-kin household	NA	NA	3	1.7
TOTAL	74	68	145	8.2

Source: fieldwork survey.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 did emerge from examination of the material relating to
621 attached individuals was that it was the larger households
that tended to have the added membership of attached
[171] individuals. However, even this point seemed at variance
with what might have been expected on the basis of
comparative data from other societies, which show house-
holds lacking in members compensating by the addition of
attached individuals (Goody 1972: 17-18).

592 In attempting to account for the extent of diversity
128 revealed by enumeration of Motulahi households according
596 to the culturally significant notion of family groups,
I tried to analyze the data in terms of other variables.
One basis for analysis was suggested by the stated norms
of intra-family behavior and other patterns of respect
in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance, the
authority of the senior male vis-a-vis junior males, and
the reverence due the father's sister. However, the
observed composition of multiple-family-group households
did not accord with the pattern one might expect on the
basis of these norms (see Table 13).[4] While the plurality
of households with family groups related through the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

[602] [593] [4] A listing of the stated norms of intra-family behavior is given in most pieces of writing on kinship in Tonga. However, as Morton shows in his dissertation (1972), there is little or no correlation between these norms and actual patterns of relationships among Tongan villagers.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 13

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Genealogical Connection between Family Groups in Households with Multiple Family Groups*

Number of family groups in the household	Family groups related through	Number of households
Two (32 households)		
	Parent(s) - Daughter	14
	Parent(s) - Son	5
	Sister - Sister	5
	Brother - Brother	2
	Brother - Sister	2
	Other kin tie	3
	Non-kin ties	1
Three (15 households)		
	Brother - Sister - Parent(s)	6
	Sister - Sister - Parent(s)	3
	Other combinations of kin	6

Source: fieldwork survey.

* The two households of more than three family units have not been tabulated owing to the complexity of the ties among the constituent family groups.

592 parent/s-daughter tie would seem to call for some explanation, there was no obvious connection between this
128 596 pattern and the stated norms of intra-family behavior.

[121] The model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups--about which Buchler and Selby note: "this dynamic, diachronic point of view . . . has become implicit in most analyses of household composition" (1968: 53)--also failed to reveal clear principles of household structure in Motulahi. To be sure, the developmental cycle seemed to be a factor in the composition of some households. However, the model by itself did not account for the actual composition of Motulahi households, nor was it clear why some households seemed to follow the pattern of a developmental cycle and others did not. Furthermore, given the diversity of household composition in Motulahi, deviations from the model of the developmental cycle could not be viewed simply as residual cases. Instead, an explanation of household structure in Tonga would have to account for the observed diversity.

592 It seems to me now, that as long as I was disposed
128 to view household composition primarily in terms of role occupancy and collectivity membership, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Tongan household composition is more profitably viewed as the outcome of

Visitors are easily assimilated into the household. 592
Room is found for them to lay down the mattress they bring 574
with them, and they take up the domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most visitors [576]
bring with them a few baskets of food, as a matter of courtesy, and their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a while. Some visits stretch into months or even years. The point at which it ceases to be only a visit is when the people involved no longer speak of it as such; when the visitors no longer feel that they might return to their previous place of residence and those with whom they are living accept this.

Whole family groups may be less than permanent 592
members of multiple-family-group households, although to 591
classify any particular family group as being only tempo- 596
rarily part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children might be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This could occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living on the land or in some job while his wife and children live where the children can

592 take advantage of educational opportunities. In any one
591 of these cases, the daughter and her children might remain
596 in the household for a short period, or for some years, or for always, but it is difficult to predict this for any particular case. There is similar uncertainty for the anthropologist in trying to ascertain the residential future of a married couple living in the household of one of their parents. In many cases, a couple will take up residence in a parental household until such time as they can have a household of their own. Thus, in thirty-six of the forty-nine mutiple-family households in Motulahi, at least two family groups in the household were linked by ties between parent/s and son or parent/s and daughter (see Table 13). In some of these cases, the young couple are relatively recently married. They may subsequently establish a household of their own, or they may remain living with the parents until eventually they become the heads of the household.

592 The following description of a particular household
596 in Motulahi enumerated in February 1970 illustrates the
[621] fluidity of household composition in Tonga. With three constituent family groups and twice as many members as the median in Motulahi, the household is not typical. Nevertheless, this particular household exemplifies processes of household formation and changing household

592 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore
596 serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Figure 2). Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in [591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami, [768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never remarried and, after her father died, she became sole head of that house- [591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife into what was then Finau's household. His wife, 'Ana, [484] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu [873] in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children, Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time. [591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

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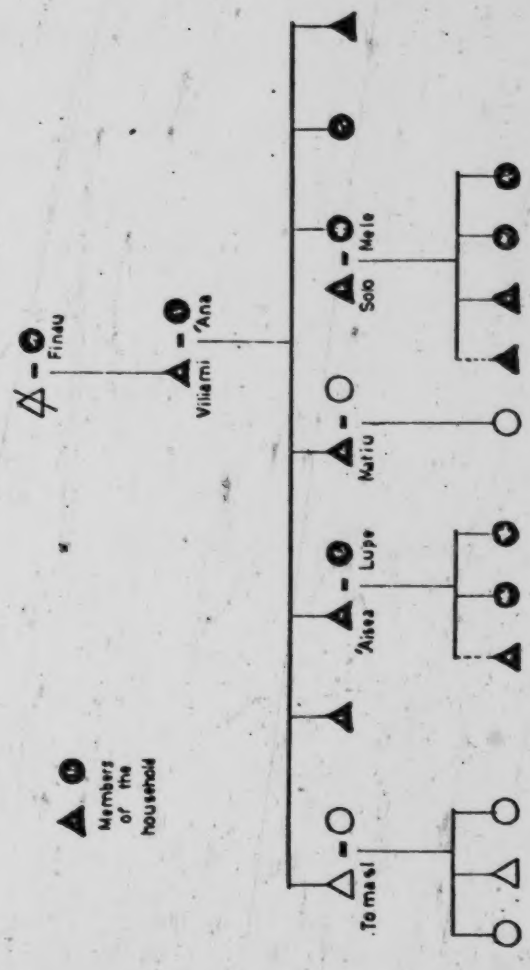
FIGURE 2

Viliami and 'Ana's Household



592 596 591 1966, but in 1969 they went to live with Lupe's family in another village on Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarrelled with Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, bringing with them their two children and Lupe's sister's son (whom they had adopted in the informal fostering relationship known as pusi'aki). In February 1970 they had been back in Motulahi for about one month and it was indefinite how long they would be staying in the household.

The third married couple in the household, Mele and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in their own single-family-group household in Motulahi, sharing the town allotment of her married brother Tomasi (the one who had his own household). However, about a week before I surveyed Viliami's household, a heavy rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house (as it did a number of other households in the village). The couple and their four children (including one pusi'aki adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

[132] [342]

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their two-year-old daughter. Matiu

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his
596 wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring house-
591 hold of Tomasi, his oldest brother. When he was flooded out in the rainstorm he went to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved into a newly-built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events in the next few years--the unmarried children when they married, and 'Aisea and his family if he should have the means to set up his own household and should choose to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group was only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children do not move away to establish their own household--in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household exemplifies a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Katiu and of Mele and Solo and

592 their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite
596 its irregularity from their own point of view.[6]
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Household Economics

128 The preceding section presented the problem of the diversity and changeability of household composition in Tonga. In this section we examine the economic considerations that affect household formation and changes in household composition.

592 One of the most important considerations in deter-
591 mining whether a man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly-married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to take up residence in a parental

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6 The case of Mele and Solo offers an example of the sort of situation in which people might represent themselves to a census-taker as comprising an independent single-family household (when in fact this is not the case), because they regard their not being independent at the time of the census as a strictly temporary situation.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

such as a job), then the household must be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement. There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of their members, and the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.[9]

Dynamics of Household Composition

When a family group does not have access to an allotment, or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family group that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. Thus, despite individual registration of allotments, the organization of land tenure is much less individualistic than a reading of the land law of 1882 would suggest.[10]

Forty-nine multiple-family households were enumerated by me in 1970--that is, one third of the households in the village. Most of the family groups that comprised these households would not have been economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one

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9 Further details are witheld to preserve the anonymity of those concerned in these instances.

10 For further discussion on this point, see Kaude (1971) and Nayacakalou (1959). Also see my paper on the evolution of the system of political authority in Tonga and its relation to the organization of land tenure and kinship at the local level (Decktor Korn 1976).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 of the family groups provided the household with steady
596 cash income from a job. That family group might not have
511 had access to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family group in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family group in the household might have had control over an allotment while another family group supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It is in these kinds of circumstances that the 'human capital' requirement of a household is apparent. This may also be the basis of other forms of household structure (see Table 13). For example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

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[885] To be male or female head of a household carries with it recognition of fully adult status.[11] Hence, for

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11 The word "'ulu" (head or authority figure) is generally applied only to the head male, but the word "pule" (effective authority) is used in speaking of the respective roles of the male head and the female head. The division of authority between the male head and the

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 both husband and wife, being head of their own household
554 --no matter how humble the household might be--is more
596 prestigious and very much preferable to being lesser members in someone else's household. In short, a couple will seek to establish a household of their own as soon
[621] as they are able to have a viable household. The proof of this is that in Motulahi in 1970, where there were 150 married couples and 49 multiple-family households, there were only two multiple-family households in which both the family group of the head of the household and the subordinate family group could have been viable on their own. In both of these cases, the link between the family groups was between parents and son: one of these households was headed by the noble of Motulahi and the other was headed by the man who was next highest in the village on the ranking scale of the traditional titles system, and both were among the five men who were by far the richest in the village.[12] In other words, it is possible that their

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female head is clear; it is not a matter of joint--in the sense of 'co-equal'--authority over domestic activities. Rather, each is concerned with a different set of activities and has authority with respect to those activities. Hence, where there are suitable persons to take on each role, there is both a head male and a head female in the same household. See Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941: 20-28) for a description of domestic activities in rurul Tonga that portrays the clear although not rigid segregation between male and female activities.

12 The other three did not have adult children, so the question of whether their sons were similarly dependent does not arise.

fathers' special position may account for why the sons lived in extended-family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own. Except for these two cases, all the men in the village with the requisite access to the necessary resources described above--cash, human capital, and local goods--were heads of their own households. Thus, 74 percent of the men in Motulahi aged thirty and older were the head of their own household, and 78 percent of all the men in the village who were married and living together with their wives were heads of household (see Table 16). Men who were not heads of household generally were those who were not married and therefore lacked the human capital necessary for maintaining a household and/or those who did not have an allotment of their own (which reflects the increasing shortage of land). The differences among the age groups shown in Table 16 are largely accounted for by just these two factors.

Besides the two households in which both family groups could have been independently viable, there were some multiple-family households in which one family group in the household could have been independent while the other/s would not have been viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family groups were members of extended households. As for the economically self-sufficient family groups, the extension of a household is

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 a matter of prestige, quite aside from any question of
596 sentiment or obligation, for the larger the household
554 (measured especially in terms of adult dependents), the greater the authority of the head of the household. This applies both within the household and carries beyond it, since--as we shall see in the next chapter--the head of a large household controls more labor for community enterprises.

The preceding materials provide the basis for an explanation of the dynamics of household formation and changes in household composition. A couple will make an effort, first, to establish a household of their own. Once they have succeeded in this, they will try to attract other people to join their household (provided they are capable of supporting dependents). Against this, however, others will be seeking to establish households of their own, and this puts a limit on any one couple's ability to attract and retain dependents.

We are now in a position to understand what lies behind the statement made earlier in the chapter that there is no consensus among Tongans on the composition of the ideal household. In talking about something that concerns them directly and personally, Tongans usually do not speak in terms of an ideal that would be generally applicable; instead, each talks about what he sees as desirable for a person in his situation. Thus, an older man may say that

592 what is ideal is a three-generation household headed by
596 the senior members, while a young man is less likely to
554 speak of a three-generation household as being desirable. However, both would agree that the preferred household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head.

591 If a family group is not able to be independent, an
592 older couple or older individual generally prefers to move
596 in with their daughter or other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take better care of them than their sons's wife would. Among younger couples who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however; mainly, where--which island and village--they need or wish to be located, and which (if any) of the relatives there can accomodate them. Factors such as the relative availability of access to land, schooling for the children, and prospects for satisfactory social recognition (including the question of household status) affect choice of location. In other words, factors besides simple elements of kinship usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where the preceding considerations are not decisive,

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

591 the choice between membership in a household with the
592 wife's or the husband's relatives primarily reflects the
596 quality of the relationships between the husband and wife and between the wife and her in-laws. According to some informants, Tongans subscribe to the ideal that a woman should agree to live with her husband's people, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. To do so is called "fālute" ('to include or unite') and is said to be admirable; in foregoing living with her own kin, a wife is said to hold together her husband and his kin. In return, if members of the husband's family wish to make any request of him, they should do so through his wife. This shows that they tokaʻi her ('have respect for her and consider her feelings'). According to my informants, however, very few women are truly fālute. Most women wish to be with their own kin and try to draw their husbands in that direction, it is said, thereby breaking up the group of fraternal siblings. And this is said even of women who live with their husband's kin, away from their own people.

To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man or a woman. A woman is far more involved in quotidian domestic activities than a man is. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place in the household--which is

591 not the case when a woman is living with her husband's
592 people. On the other hand, precisely because of the
596 greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical gaze of her husband's relatives, and especially his mother. This is mitigated to some extent if they establish their own household rather than living in the household of his parents, but a young wife is still likely to feel very lonely if she does not have kin of her own nearby.

Most new households are established by local men; that is, the man and wife set up household in the husband's
166 village. Less than 12 percent of the male heads of
621 household in 1970 came to Motulahi through marriage to a local woman (see Table 5), and in 75 percent of the households in Motulahi the male head of the household had lived in the village for some time before he was married. A man generally has a better chance of being allocated an allotment where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential allotment, he might set up his own household on his parent's land. More important, a man's kin are more likely than his wife's kin to provide him with access to the agricultural resources essential for a household of his own.

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If a young couple does not have the means to establish and maintain a household of their own, they almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She is likely to go home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and may stay there for a few weeks or a few months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has an excuse for moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may end up remaining with the wife's people. Many of the multiple-family-group households in Motulahi based on the parent/s-daughter tie came about in this way (see Table 13). This outcome is especially likely if the husband has no reasonable expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment of his own. If he had such expectations, the wife might have been willing to tolerate remaining in his kin's household until they were able to establish one of their own.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
602 family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
594 family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
592 Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
596 household do not have the means of supporting more than
554 their own families, or else that having many dependents is not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In place of the traditional criteria of status and customary forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 22

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Household Types in Motulahi, 1970, Classed by the Denomination of the Male Head of the Household

Household type	Male head of household: Mormon (N=29) %	Male head of household: Other (N=113) %	Total (N=142) %
Single-family-group household	76	63	65
Multiple-family-group household	24	37	35
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

out of a total of 145 households in the village of Motulahi[2] on the island of Tongatapu, there were only 47 such households (see Table 1).[3] In other words, less than one-third of the households in the village were made up simply of a married couple and their unmarried children. Of the remaining households, 49 consisted of more than one family unit, some including one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who were not members of one of the family groups living in the household).[4] The other households in the village were variations on the single-family-unit type, including some whose membership included attached individuals (see Table 2), and others that were incomplete family groups (see Table 3). Among the households in Motulahi were single-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households (see Table 4). There were households based on family units

2 "Motulahi" is a fictitious name for the village in which I was based.

3 It would have been interesting to compare my data on household structure in Motulahi with similar data from other parts of Tonga. Indeed, there are figures on household structure in the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968), but, unfortunately, there is reason to doubt the comparability of these data. The 1966 national census figures showed that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 155 households (76%), while my 1970 census showed 93 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (64%). My definition of a "family unit" was taken unchanged from that in the report on the national census, and the 1966 figures for Motulahi are fairly consistent with the national figures on household structure (82% single-family-unit households). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970 (and there is no evidence to support this assumption), we must conclude that my data on household composition are not comparable with corresponding data in the report on the national census. The most likely explanation for the inconsistency is that, in 1966, some people represented their family units as comprising independent single-family-unit households when, in fact, they did not. One reason for this might be that the people regarded their not having independent households as a merely temporary condition and hence not a truly accurate statement of their household situation. Another reason might stem from the fact that Tonga is a highly rank-conscious society, and to admit to being a dependent family unit is an admission of low status.

4 My definition of "family unit" is derived from the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census*:

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders or visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. . . . Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit (Fiefia 1968:32).

The census report refers to "servants, boarders and visitors" as being "remaining members of the household" who are not part of a "family group" living in the household. These people comprise my category of "attached individuals." Neither "family unit" nor "attached individual" are named Tongan categories, although both would be readily recognized by Tongans. "Family group" (*famili*) is a named Tongan category (although it is possibly not a native category). The term *famili* has a number of referents, one of which is the sense of a nuclear or elementary family grouping that is expressed in the term "family group" as used in the census report. (For other referents of the term *famili*, see Aoyagi 1966; Decktor Korn 1974). Although the term "household" has no direct equivalent in Tongan, the Tongan word *'api*, meaning a plot of ground devoted to a particular use, is the word that is generally used where we would say "household." The primary meaning of *'api* is the land, but, by extension, it also refers to the commensal group that is located on the land.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 1

Household Types in Motulahi (1970)

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Family Units	Attached Individuals		Total
	Present	Not Present	
Single-family-unit household:			
Complete family group*	29	47	76
Incomplete family group	12	5	17
Two family units in the household	14	18	32
Three family units in the household	12	3	15
More than three family units in the household	1	1	2
Nonkin households:			
Single-person household	NA	1	1
Two-person household	NA	2	2
Total	68	77	145

*A complete family group is one in which the husband and the wife and one or more unmarried children are present.

TABLE 2

Attached Individuals in Motulahi Households

Relationship to the Male and/or Female Head(s) of the Household	Number of Households Having Attached Individuals	Number of Attached Individuals
Husband's parent	5	5
Wife's parent	7	7
Other adult—husband's kin	9	11
Other adult—wife's kin	15	18
Child—husband's kin	18	31
Child—wife's kin	18	27
Grandchild	11	14
Nonkin—adult	3	7
Nonkin—child	7	9
Total	68*	129

*This figure is less than the actual sum of the figures in this column because some households have more than one type of attached individual.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9 Tongatapu Motulahi

TABLE 3

Composition of Household Membership, in terms of Completeness of Family Groups

Number of Family Units in the Household	Number of Family Groups				Total Number of Family Groups (households = 142)*
	Composition of Family Groups in the Household				
	Complete Family Group	Mother and Child/children Only	Father and Child/children Only	Husband and Wife Only	
Single-family unit household (N = 93)	76	9	3	5	93
Two family units in the household (N = 32)	34	16	8	6	64
Three family units in the household (N = 15)	16	24	1	4	45
More than three family units in the household (N = 2)	6	4	1	–	11
Number of family groups	132	53	13	15	213

*There are, in addition, three nonkin households, making a total of 145 households.

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47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 4

Generation-span in Motulahi Households

Type of Household	Generation-span in the Household				Total Households
	One	Two	Three	Four	
Single-person household	1	–	–	–	1
Two-person nonkin household	1	1	–	–	2
Single-family-unit household	3	74	16	–	93
Two family units in the household	–	8	24	–	32
Three family units in the household	–	–	10	5	15
More than three family units in the household	–	–	1	1	2
Total	5	83	51	6	145

linked by the tie between the family groups of the old parents and their daughter, and others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister and sister, and so forth (see Table 5). The membership of these households ranged from one to 26 persons (see Fig. 1).

While in the field, I could make little sense of these data. Norms of intra-family behavior in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance and other patterns of respect, appeared to be irrelevant to understanding the principles of household composition. Similarly, a statistical description of household types failed to reveal clear principles of household structure. The difficulty in trying to make sense of the data was not that clear types did not emerge, but rather that there seemed to be too many types. Furthermore, the model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups did not prove useful in explaining the diversity.

FLUCTUATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

In retrospect, it seems to me that as long as I viewed the household as a stable or at least a regular entity, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Instead, the composition of households in Tonga is probably best understood as the outcome of different ways of fulfilling certain demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands is the major part of the explanation for the diversity of household types. This, it is clear, is a view of household composition which follows Firth's

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 5

Nature of Linkage Between Family Groups in Households of Two- and Three-Family Units*

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Number of Family Units in the Household	Family Groups Related Through	Number of Households
Two-family-unit households (32 households)		
	Parent(s)-daughter tie	14
	Parent(s)-son tie	5
	Sister-sister tie	5
	Brother-brother tie	2
	Brother-sister tie	2
	Other kin tie	3
	Nonkin ties	1
Three-family-unit household (15 households)		
	Ties between family groups of brother-sister-parent(s)	6
	Ties between family groups of sisters and their parent(s)	3
	Ties between other combinations of kin	6

*The two households of more than three family units are not tabulated because of the complexity of the ties among the constituent family groups.

position that the study of social organization focuses on "that continuous set of operations in a field of social action which conduces to the control and combination of elements of action into a system by choice and limitation of their relations to any given ends" (1964:60). Membership in the household group in Tonga allows the individual or family group to have access to resources that provide for essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. This is the process that accounts for fluctuations in household composition. 592

Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence." They may speak of people as being not merely visiting—for example, a young relative from another island who has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or 592 574 602

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

Whole family groups may be less than permanent members of multiple-family households, although to classify any particular family unit as being only temporarily part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children may be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This may occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living while his wife and children live in Motulahi so that the children can take advantage of educational opportunities on the main island. In any one of these cases, the daughter and her children might remain in the household for a short period, or for some years, or for always, but it is difficult to predict with certainty for any particular case. There is similar uncertainty for the anthropologist in trying to determine the permanence of a married couple living in the household of one of their parents. In many cases, a couple will take up residence in a parental household until such time as they can have a household of their own. (In some of these cases, the couple are but recently married; it is said to be the custom in Tonga—although it is a custom not always followed—for a newly married couple to live with the parents of the husband until the birth of the first child.) The couple may subsequently establish a household of their own, or they may remain living with the parents of one until eventually they become the heads of the household.

VILIAMI'S HOUSEHOLD

The following description of a particular household in Motulahi illustrates the fluidity of household composition. With three constituent family units, the household is not typical (but, as has already been demonstrated, there are far too many "types" for any one household to be typical). The household is unusual in that it has twice as many members as the medium in Motulahi (see Fig. 1). Nevertheless, this particular household exemplifies many of the processes of household formation that are common in Tonga, and for this reason it will serve here as an illustration.

The oldest person in the household is Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Fig. 2).[7] Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in Motulahi. Upon marrying a man from another island, she moved there, where her sons Sione and Viliami were born. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never

7 These are not the true names of the people involved. All other data in the description are factual.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

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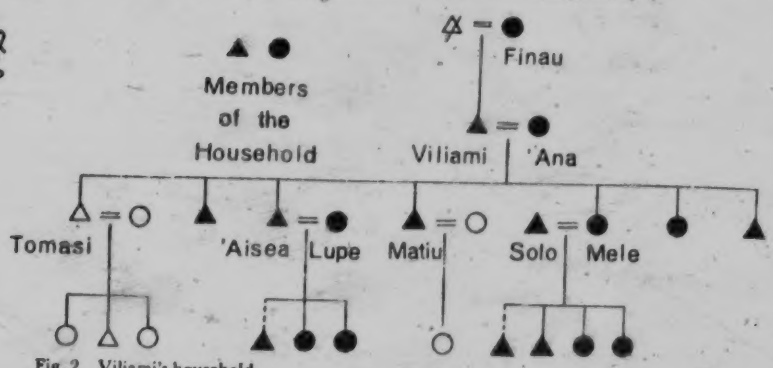

Fig. 2. Viliami's household.

remarried, and, after her father died, she became head of that household. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife 'Ana into what was then Finau's household. 'Ana was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu in 1930 when she was 12 so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled in Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana have seven children, ranging in age from 31 to 16, all of whom are living in Motulahi. (These data are based on the ethnographic records of February 1970, when I took the census of village households.) Only one of their children, Tomasi, is not a member of the household. Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in 1966, but then, in 1969, they went to live with Lupe's family in another village in Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarreled with Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, together with their two children and Lupe's sister's son (adopted in the informal fostering relationship known as *pusi'aki*). At the time of the household census they had been back in the household for about one month, and it was indefinite how long they would be staying.

The third married couple in the household, Mele and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in their own single-family-unit household in Motulahi, sharing the residential plot of her married brother Tomasi (the one who has his own household). About a week before the census, however, a heavy rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house, as it did a number of other households in the village. The couple and their four children (including one *pusi'aki* adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their 2-year-old daughter. Matiu remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring household of Tomasi, his oldest brother. After he was flooded out in the rainstorm, he came to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved in to a newly built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events within the next few years: the unmarried children when they marry, and 'Aisea and his family if he has the means to set up his own household and chooses to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group is only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children did not move away to establish their own households—in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household can be seen as part of a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Matiu and of Mele and Solo and their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite its irregularity from their own point of view.[8]

CRITERIA OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY

One of the most important considerations in determining whether a man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to take up residence in a parental household, but economic expediency. So far as household organization is concerned, what Leach has written about the Sinhalese could equally apply to Tonga:

8 In footnote 3, it was suggested that some of the people participating in the census of 1966 might have represented their family groups as comprising independent single-family-unit households, when in fact they were not, because they regarded their not being independent households as a temporary situation. Viliami's household offers instances of this situation.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the household may have control over an allotment, while the other family unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of household—for example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

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47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family-unit household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

To be male or female head of a household of one's own carries with it recognition—one might almost say "attainment"—of adult status. Hence, for both the husband and the wife, being head of their own household, no matter how humble it might be, is more prestigious and infinitely preferable to being lesser members in someone else's household. Thus, 74% of the men in Motulahi aged 30 and older are the heads of their own households, and 78% of all the men in the village who are married and living together with their wives are heads of household (see Table 8). Those men who are not heads of households

TABLE 8

Household Status of Men in the Village, According to Age and Marital Situation

Household Status and Marital Situation	Age				
	Percentage 20-29 (N = 82)	Percentage 30-39 (N = 53)	Percentage 40-49 (N = 54)	Percentage 50+ (N = 44)	Total Percentage (N = 233)
Head of household					
Member of a married couple	16	49	85	73	50
Not a member of a married couple	1	4	–	11	3
Not head of household					
Member of a married couple	21	19	7	6	14
Not a member of a married couple	62	28	7	11	32
Total percentage	100	100	99	101	99

tend to be those who are not married and hence lack the human capital necessary for maintaining a household, and/or are those who have not managed to acquire an agricultural allotment of their own—a reflection of increasing shortage of land over the past two or three decades. The differences among men of different age groups are largely accounted for by these two factors.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

In short, a man and wife will seek to establish their own household as soon as they can, wherever it might be. The proof of this is that in Motulahi, where there were 150 married couples, I found only two multiple-family households in which both the family unit of the head of the household and the subordinate family unit could be viable on their own. In both cases, the link between the family groups was between parents and son, and it should be noted that one of these households was headed by the village noble, and the other by the man who was next highest on the traditional scale of rank. Both were among the five men who were by far the richest in the village (the three other men did not have adult children). In other words, it is possible that their fathers' special positions may account for why the sons lived in extended family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own.

In addition, there were some multiple-family households in which one family unit in the household could be economically independent, while the other(s) would not be viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family unit is a member of an extended household. As for the self-sufficient family unit, the extension of the household is a matter of prestige, quite aside from any question of sentiment or obligation, for the larger a household (measured especially in terms of adult dependents), the greater the authority of the head. This authority applies not only within the household but also beyond it, since the head of a large household controls more labor for community enterprises than do other heads of households.

Thus, a couple will make an effort first to establish their own household. Once they have succeeded in this, they will try to attract other people to join their household (provided they are capable of supporting dependents). Against this, however, others will be seeking to establish households of their own, and this puts a limit on the ability to attract and retain dependents.

We are now in a position to understand what lies behind the statement that was made earlier in this paper: that there is no consensus among Tongans on what composition constitutes the ideal household. An older man may say that the ideal household is a three-generation household headed by the senior members, while a young man is unlikely to make such a statement. However, as mentioned earlier, both would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am in a position to be the head.

If a family unit is not able to be independent, an older couple or older individual generally prefers to move in with their daughter or other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take better care of them than their son's wife would. Among younger couples who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a

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47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however: mainly, where it is (which island and village) that they need or wish to be located, and which of the relatives is capable of having them. In other words, factors other than the simple elements of kinship relationships usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where there is an equal possibility of living in a household with the wife's or the husband's relatives, the choice primarily reflects the quality of relationships between the husband and the wife and between the wife and her in-laws. To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man and a woman. A woman is far more involved in domestic activities than a man. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place as a stranger in the household—which is not the situation when a woman is living with her husband's people. On the other hand, precisely because of the greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical view of her husband's relatives. Ideally, a woman should agree to live where her husband's people are, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. And indeed, most new households are established by local men—that is, the man and wife set up their own household in the husband's village, since a man generally has more chance of being allocated a residential plot in his parents' village, where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential plot, he might set up his own household on his parents' land.

If a young couple does not have the means to establish and maintain a household, they almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time, the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She usually goes home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and often stays there for a few weeks or months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has the excuse of moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may, in the end, remain with the wife's people. (This is especially likely if the husband has no expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment, since that

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

would have provided a material basis for establishing their own household someday.) Many of the three-generation households that are based on the parents-daughter link between family units evolved in this way, even though such a household is in many respects far from the cultural ideal.

DISCUSSION: OPTIONS AND OPTATION

It has been my argument that household composition in Tonga is to be accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding kinship, but rather as the outcome of individuals' pursuit of prestige within the limitations of their social position and the resources available to them.[14] This is a dynamic process; as their needs and resources change, people are able to shift their household arrangements. Thus the patterning of household composition in Tonga is better regarded "as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (Leach 1960:124).

Keesing (1967) has pointed out, however, that statistical description is difficult when variations in composition are extreme (a problem that was noted early in this paper), and that statistical outcomes themselves may vary widely under differing conditions (another point that applies to the statistical description of household composition in Tonga). He argues further that a model of the principles whereby decisions are made is more revealing than a statistical model, as well as being more powerful in accounting for the range of empirical data. A recent review article, which describes this approach as "the analysis of social structure in terms of the options open to members of a society," concludes that "decision models provide a new and convincing way to think about social structural variability" (Quinn 1975:22, 43).[15]

In this paper, I have presented a description of the processes of household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in household membership. The description specifies the criteria that enable us to predict whether a couple or individual are likely to establish a household of which he and/or she would be the head. More importantly, it provides an explanation that accounts retrodictively for

14 Of course, not only norms regarding kinship, but also the pursuit of prestige and the nature of the limitations upon it, are culturally conditioned.

15 Except for reservations regarding the meaning of terms like "alternative courses" and "decisions," I would follow Keesing (1967) in conceiving "decision model" to denote "an ethnographic description that is actor-oriented and based on the categories of the culture under study," and whose minimal properties are

> . . . that it (1) defines the situation or context in a culturally meaningful way; (2) defines the range of culturally acceptable alternative courses of action in the situation; and provides either (3) a set of rules for making appropriate decisions under culturally possible combinations of circumstances, i.e., a model with determinate outcomes, or (4) a set of strategies for deciding among alternatives, i.e., a value-maximization model (Keesing 1967:2).

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

ties, can be subdivided: status among kinsmen (*kāinga* ranking) incorporates principles of age, sex, and whether the individual is related through the mother or the father; however, in *kāinga* inheritance, the significant dimension is male primogeniture within the patrilineal group. Societal ranking includes two kinds of rank: chiefs are differentiated from commoners, and entire societal groupings (*ha'a*) are ranked in regard to each other. *Ha'a* cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, *ha'a* are societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction between them). One individual may rank higher than another in societal rank and lower in *kāinga* rank; or two individuals may be related in two different ways, and they may alternately outrank each other, depending on which relationship is being activated. Conflict is usually avoided in such cases because the activity taking place generally prescribes which kind of ranking shall receive priority. A social occasion within the kin group activates different principles than does a village affair, or one that involves the whole society.

The first major strand to be dealt with will be *kāinga*, on which social status and inheritance among kinsmen depends. Second, class ranking will be dealt with, that is, the ranking of the roles of chiefs and commoners. Finally *ha'a* rank, that is, the ranking of groups associated with a title that originated by collateral segmentation, will be described. Throughout, the concepts of *'eiki* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (common) are used; that is, within each strand some individuals or groups are considered to be higher than others. Though the strands are separated for easier explication, the relationships between them are implicit. These relationships are sometimes contradictory, but because of this are useful in reinforcing chiefly position, especially at the highest societal levels.

KĀINGA RANKING

All relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship are called *kāinga* (kinsmen). One has many *kāinga*, a number of whom may act as a group on various occasions, and perhaps it is best to consider *kāinga* as consanguineal relationship. *Kāinga* is not the same as a Samoan *aiga*. The Tongan language has no indigenous word for family, the word *fāmili* having been adopted from English to refer either to the nuclear family or to the bilocal extended family, but it seems that no such word was used during pre-European times.[8]

Kinship Categories Used for Reference Among Kāinga

Kui: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

Mehikitanga: all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father, e.g., FaSi, FaFa, SiDa.

Tamai: father and all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

565 which helped to maintain stability, peace and prosperity in the [693] land.

[681] With the expansion of population the local chiefs gradually [784] consolidated their power over their own areas, and the authority of both Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became nominal and ceremonial. Actual power rested with the chief of various 565 localities or *kāinga* (the equivalent of the modern village in 631 Tonga).[6] Unlike the Samoan village where authority was vested 643 in the village *fono*, at which the *matais* (titled heads of the families) discussed matters affecting the village before they were 565 implemented, the powers of the village chief in Tonga were absolute 622 and arbitrary. The Tongan *fono* was simply a compulsory assembly [621] of the people to receive instructions from the chief. Offenders were not brought to public trial as was the case in Samoa. Any 565 major offences were dealt with by the chief whose decisions were 622 absolute, punishment frequently being meted out on the spot, either 627 by the chief himself or by one of his powerful henchmen. This [695] absolute power of the ruling chiefs, however, contained the seeds of the system's own destruction. As chiefly ambitions grew they 565 fostered local autonomy, thus threatening the political unity of 622 Tonga as a whole.

631 True, the country, during this period was economically prosperous, and life was easy and peaceful. Yet, at the same time, 175 the vigorous and ambitious young warrior chiefs did not find enough excitement in such a life. The immense variety of newly found riches, and the stimulation which contact with the outside world brought to the Tongans, especially during the eighteenth century, whetted the appetites of the young chiefs for further power, wealth and excitement. It was when they began to misuse their power for purely selfish ends that corruption crept in followed by serious disturbances. There ensued a period of political turbulence and misery after the relatively peaceful, orderly, and prosperous years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[592] [6] Apart from the *'api* (household) there were three main socio-political
[596] units in Tonga. The smallest was the *fa'ahinga* (extended family), headed
[621] by an *'ulumotu'a* who was either a chief, petty chief or *matāpule* (chief's
[613] attendant). Next was the *kāinga*, headed by a ruling titled chief. The largest unit was the *ha'a*, a loose confederation of genealogically related, but autonomous, chiefs and their *kāinga*.

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

that the Tu'i Tonga was the nominal and the chiefs the actual owners of the land, and the commoners simply tenants at will (see Gifford 1929:174-5; Nayacakalou 1959:94-7 and Beaglehole 1941:19), but such terms as 'owner' and 'tenant' must be suspect when applied to a Polynesian culture. Other evidence suggests a pattern resembling that of neighbouring territories, where land rights were held by social groups but were vested nominally in the titled head of that group. Gifford, for instance, notes that land once granted, whether to chiefs, *matapule* or commoners, remained indefinitely in the family of the grantee (see also Martin 1818: vol. II:91); Waldegrave and Radcliffe Brown record that the Tu'i Tonga could not dispossess a chief (Waldegrave 1833:185 and Williamson 1924: vol. III:266); and the evidence of contemporary informants suggests that it would have been unusual for a *fa'ahinga* to have lost its land except through warfare (see also Williamson 1924: vol. III:231). It was also noted earlier that the *fa'ahinga* and the group headed by a chief were basically descent groups and occupied fairly distinct areas, and several recent but knowledgeable informants maintain that in old Tonga a chief allocated land to the various *'ulumotu'a* under him, for their people to cultivate and live on, and that a man obtained the use of land through his *fa'ahinga* and not as a direct grant from his chief as is the case in the present system. An example of this pattern can be seen in Figure 1. The first map of Niutoua, in eastern Tongatapu, shows the pattern of land division around 1910, and the landholders at that time can be grouped into three *fa'ahinga*, each occupying a particular part of the land.[4] One *fa'ahinga* was headed by the former chief of the area and the others by his two *matapule*.

Most of the evidence on landholding within the *fa'ahinga* suggests that in times of peace people lived in extended family groups scattered over the land (for example, Orlebar 1833:49), and almost all contemporary informants state that allotments were held by the heads of these families, with married sons working the lands of their fathers and not holding allotments of their own as at present. Individual tenure, in my opinion, is therefore a recent development.

The above evidence suggests that the various social groups had definite land rights, yet there is little doubt that these rights could be overruled by the chiefs, and that a chief could allocate land even against the wishes of its hereditary occupiers. He was expected to take the interests of his people into consideration, however, and to act in consultation with the *'ulumotu'a* under

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Eviction from a registered allotment is rare, and provided a landholder complies with the requirements of the law he has complete security of tenure, for all cases for eviction must be heard by the Land Court. Eviction may be for failure to pay rent, for not maintaining the allotment in the average state of cultivation for tax allotments in the district, for abandoning the allotment or for not planting or tending the 200 coconut palms required by law. In recent years cases for eviction have only been brought on the grounds of failure to pay rent, and as the law gives landholders the opportunity to pay within three months of the judgment very few people have actually lost their land. Security of tenure is therefore very much greater under the present system than it was in the past. Moreover, the Land Court has on several occasions held that registration is not the only test of ownership (Hunter 1963:104-6 and 121-5), and where a person occupies unregistered land which has been held by his family by customary right for some time his position is fairly strong. It is only those who have been given permission to use land to which they have no customary right, with the possibility of registration later, whose tenure is particularly insecure and who therefore most need to keep the favour of the estate-holder.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

The 1966 census, the first in which a question on land ownership was included, revealed that only forty-two per cent of taxpayers actually had an allotment, with the proportion varying from thirty-nine per cent in Tongatapu to forty-six per cent in Vava'u and forty-eight per cent in Ha'apai.[6] A more detailed indication of the distribution of land in particular villages is given in Table 1, which presents the results of village studies carried out in recent years and shows the percentage of households and (for six of the villages) of taxpayers, according to the acreage of land held. It should be noted that these households differ in composition from those of the past; today an extended family grouping is only occasionally found, particularly in Tongatapu, and most households consist of a nuclear family or a nuclear family and a few unmarried relatives. The figures in Table 1, together with census data, show that the distribution of land between both households and taxpayers is distinctly uneven, and differs markedly from the pattern which should result from the provisions of the Land Act. In only one village did over half the taxpayers have their legal entitlement of eight and

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

565 554 613 602 428 has succeeded to his title through his mother, but he is *sino'i 'eiki* through his father. There is a reputedly more legally appropriate holder among 'Akau's mother's people, who has never pressed his claim. Admittedly, it is ambiguous whether the potential claimant himself saw the advantage of not claiming or whether he was persuaded not to.

In sum, at least among gentry titles, succession cases between extended or distantly related kinsmen reveal that norms of kinship rank and amity have not been effective in suppressing the expression of kin group competition for title honour and resources. This competition had been shaped by the nineteenth-century reforms of Tupou I and the imposition of a strict, individualistic succession law, but had not surfaced in public confrontation until the legal machinery had belatedly appeared to deal with the conflicts generated by the earlier reforms.

565 428 602 (3) One would expect instances of succession disputes within very narrow ranges of kin-relatedness to be rare, and in fact they are. Those that have occurred are a result of the long-term social isolation and lack of ongoing interaction between individuals who are genealogically closely related. For example, the present Kaila'ā, as a minor, was raised by his mother's people and only later returned to his father's village to claim his title from his paternal uncle who had been holding the title ambiguously (as trustee or permanent successor) on the appointment of Tupou II. Such cases are rare, not necessarily because 565 428 602 554 the norms of kinship rank and amity operate more efficiently within narrower ranges of relationship, but merely because the probability of ambiguities in the rules of succession and consequently of arguable claims is much less within the direct line or within one degree of collaterality. The individualization of title honour and resources, and the corresponding competition for access to them [596] are expressed within the immediate extended family of the title-holder (i.e., his own full and half siblings as well as his father's full and half siblings), not by succession disputes, but through more subtle competition in assuming chiefly styles and controlling intra-familial decision-making processes, as typically in the case of a young title-holder and his father's brother.

Thus, the absence of formal succession disputes among close family kin does not indicate the absence of the same roots of competition that are revealed [596] in the second category of disputes. Close kinsmen who might informally compete [613] with a title-holder or claimant for chiefly status and leadership within an extended family or family estate group will certainly support him in a succession dispute with a more distant branch of a mutually recognized patriline or with an altogether unrelated faction. This sort of segmentary opposition by levels of competition or dispute was evident in both the Ivilahi and Vakalā cases. In both cases, individuals were supported in litigation (as a plaintiff in the Ivilahi case and as a defendant in the Vakalā case) by kinsmen who otherwise were

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

themselves in informal competition with these individuals for the exercise of leadership within the narrow chiefly family and sometimes for control of chiefly authority over the estates associated with the title.

The cases that have occurred within a narrow range of relationship are not characterized by sharp persisting factionalism, but rather by a short-lived confrontation, after which any further competition dissolves into or continues at a more informal, subtle level (publicly articulated only in casual rumour and gossip), within the immediate extended family of the title-holder.

An overall assessment from the three types of cases, based on kin relatedness, is that although the role of the lawyer has been crucial in arguing cases and occasionally in motivating them, the appearance of succession cases is more significantly related to the internal reorganization of chiefly kin groups, generally through the levelling reforms of the nineteenth century (in the creation of discrete, economically self-sufficient nuclear family units and specifically through the structure and implementation of the legal definition of the nobility. Although competition for chiefly status is clearly evident among kin group members, the continuing overt bitterness between the winners and losers is remarkably short-lived after a court confrontation and resolution in all three categories of succession cases.[16]

In contrast to this characteristic, apparent forgiveness among parties in dispute over succession to titles and estates is the long persisting open bitterness that follows disputes between two title-holding lines over a piece of land, claimed as part of their respective estates (see Hunter, 1963, for reports of such cases). Perhaps the difference is that there is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by persistently and openly bemoaning a claim to a title that has been lost, but that a loss of a piece of land, traditionally associated with one title, to another title line is a serious affront to the honour of the losing title and can be a considerable drain on the resources of the holding line.

Although a good deal of ill-feeling may persist in a line that has lost a title or claim, it is a disadvantageous strategy to voice it or let it surface. Not only would one be accused of blatantly disrupting peace (*melino*) in the kindred (which is an explicit value in Tongan kinship, and disruption of which is the basis of criticism to which a person is already vulnerable if he has precipitated

[16] Although the Vakalā cases were perhaps the bitterest of succession disputes as well as the manifestly longest lived, reoccurring as litigation twice in successive generations, the present relations between the loser, Z, and the title-holder, D, are not at all strained or embarrassed when they meet on social occasions. It is probably true, however, that they avoid each other as much as possible. Likewise, while I was living in Kaila'ā's household, the son of the man whom Kaila'ā defeated to gain his title came to visit and live within Kaila'ā's home for several weeks. The occurrence of a succession dispute between Kaila'ā and the visitor's father had no apparent influence on their present relations. In fact, the visitor was quite willing to discuss the succession dispute in the presence of the noble without any sense of embarrassment or bitterness. The conflict was seen in retrospect as an impersonal, ephemeral matter.

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally 592 referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of 591 individuals working, eating, and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596] [594] [178] In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9 612 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who [602] [184] reside in other households, villages, or island groups. The size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

/294 cont./

which was customary even in ancient times--in contrast to Tonga-- has been retained; but /295/ in larger settlements that consist of individual sections these have, in some cases, made themselves independent to a certain extent. As in the Tongan Archipelago, the old encompassing community system in the villages is still alive. With respect to social stratification, however, the power of the nobility--in complete contrast to changes on the Tonga Islands-- has been preserved to a remarkable extent, the position of the matai in recent times has suffered to some extent by the fact that the young generation is gaining influence in the family and, with the decline of the taupou system, (15)

15. See F.J.H. Grattan, loc. cit. p. 152.

the function of the tulafale (speaker) as marriage go-between belongs to the past. The fact that the exceptional position of the nobility here in Samoa has not been weakened as much as in Tonga may probably not be explained solely by the rather conservative nature of the Samoans, but by the fact that the missionaries here did not see any particular need to attack the old social system, for in this semi-democratic system the rule of the matai was apparently never as absolute and arbitrary as that of the Tongan nobility, and on the Samoa Islands there was no permanent division between nobility and commoners, for the serving non-noble still had a chance to be promoted to the nobility.

As a result of the self-confident and conservative nature of these natives as well as the restraint of the missionaries and the white government the traditional political organization in West Samoa is still largely intact, with the village governments (council of matai) preserved. As a result of the occupation of the Archipelago by whites the Samoa Islands have become two political entities

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more 369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences 369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre- 596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the 593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never [594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear [591] families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in [166] instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

178 241 182 [458] [73]

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban